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***'New realism' or a turning point? Prospects for realizing targets
in delivery***

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Abstract

In conditions of large-scale unemployment and poverty the provision of free basic services in housing, water, electricity and sanitation feature importantly in political priorities. In the run-up to the 2006 local government election there has been widespread social movements contesting the level and quality of housing, water, sanitation and other services. The government and ministers of line departments are confident that targets, particularly in the water sector, of universal water by 2008 and of sanitation by 2010 will be met. A number of lesser targets in the sector, however, have already not been met and the question is whether there will be additional funding and the development of local capacity to bring the larger targets in sight.

The paper examines the political economy of delivery and the effect of the limits of public expenditure brought about by changes in economic policy associated with GEAR. The research concludes that inadequate funding of social objectives has had the effect of the backlog in services not declining as anticipated or even growing. Increasingly planners in line departments are identifying these lags, quantifying additional funding needed, and their projections anticipate that targets will not be met. The difficulties in meeting targets are increasingly reflected in speeches and in public forums such as izimbizo.

There is a turning point being reached in the planning and budgeting of service delivery. Will the growing awareness of lags in service delivery bring 'new realism' with the downscaling of targets, or will this lead to additional funding and renewed initiatives in public participation in service delivery?

Recent developments in South Africa have again highlighted the vital importance of service delivery; of providing housing, water, sanitation and electricity to the poor. Under apartheid the black majority was largely excluded from basic services, welfare, and the benefits flowing from economic growth, and the expectation of freedom has been closely associated with the hope that there will be definite changes in their lives. There has been dramatic political change with the replacement of autocratic rule by the white majority by democratic government by the majority, but the benefits of power in jobs, housing and basic services have flowed unevenly. There is even evidence that the fundamental inequalities which characterised apartheid have deepened during the period of freedom even as there has been consistent, although slow, economic growth.

Freedom has come with promises by the African National Congress government of job creation, water and sanitation for all, improved delivery of housing, and expanded welfare. Apart from the Millennium Development Goals, the minimum of social objectives to be met by the poorest countries by 2015, fairly far-reaching promises on these fronts have been made by the Presidency such as halving unemployment by 2014. These coupled with economic growth and rising business confidence, has led the President to declare: "Our people are firmly convinced that our country has entered its age of hope" (Mbeki, 2006).

In capitalist society as South Africa, improved human development is closely associated with paid employment. Unfortunately in the post-apartheid period there has been retrenchment and a decline in employment even as new jobs are opening for those black people with advanced education and training. For the substantial numbers who had poor education and training during the apartheid years, conditions have worsened with declining employment in unskilled work and increasing casualisation of the remaining jobs. For workers such as the dockers of the main port of Durban, for example, the years of freedom have been associated with retrenchment and casualisation and provided few opportunities for training. These conditions have been confirmed in a recent book by Seekings and Natrass (2006) which discusses rising differentiation in South Africa in terms of 'insiders' who have skills and have formal employment and 'outsiders' who lack skills and employment.

The uncertain advance of employment in jobs has focused political attention on service delivery to an extraordinary extent in South Africa. The post-apartheid Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) set out a number of promises of rising levels of services to the poor. If these had been implemented to the full this would have compensated to some extent for the harsh socio-economic conditions faced by the poorest. The RDP has a vision of neat houses, electrification, clean water, and toilets as the basis for an improved level of living. Although there has been much improved delivery, there have been two fundamental problems: first that there has been a considerable increase in the number of households and second that continuing poverty has meant that the poor have found it difficult to pay. The social movements which have raged nation-wide in the period 2004-05 have had at their epicentre the problems of cost

recovery; in particular of resistance by the poorest to being disconnected from water services and electricity.

One of the most significant developments in the post-liberation period is undoubtedly the mobilization of communities around the issues of service delivery. In many towns and cities of the Free State, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga in places and municipalities familiar and unfamiliar there has been, and often still is, a state of ferment. People are taking to the streets demanding the meeting of their immediate needs in housing and essential services.

Despite a handsome victory for the African National Congress during the local government elections on 1 March 2006, during which the ruling party was largely uncontested in the poorest communities, the celebrations are of expectations for effective delivery. The poor are expecting the overwhelming majorities for the ANC in power in municipalities to turn to their advantage. This has led to the problems of delivery dominating political debate.

The politics of delivery

To an extent unparalleled in European politics where service delivery relates to the speed at which telephones are answered and civil servants respond to complaints, in South Africa service delivery relates to the meeting of basic needs. In the post-apartheid period there has been a substantial belief that there has been outstanding progress; government reports on social progress state confidently that targets will be met and celebrate 10 years of advance. This confidence has had an influence on professionals and academics who have reviewed the period and concluded that the ship of state has forged ahead. In a book which has just appeared, for instance, an urban expert concludes that the promises of the RDP have been met.

Most of these targets have now been met and, indeed, exceeded, although this did not happen in the first five years (van Ryneveld, 2006: 171).

Such an interpretation is, however, undermined by close examination of the data, in unpublicized official documents, and by politicians of the ruling party themselves. Just how far the social targets of the RDP have fallen short of promises will be taken up below, but there is evidence of growing concern within the Congress Alliance that social advance is uneven and inequality growing.

The upsurge in community mobilization comes at a time when government is becoming aware of just how much more is needed. In the State of the Nation of February 2005, President Mbeki added a new sense of urgency, to meet objectives he stated: "We need massively to improve capacities of government" (Mbeki, February 2005).

In the new period following there are two somewhat contradictory sides evident in government; a willingness to debate delivery with greater frankness combined with defensiveness and often repudiation of critical assessments. There has also been discussion of a revival of the RDP whose social objectives are argued to being facilitated by conservative macro-economic planning. The revival is, however, largely one of ideas and inspiration such as advocacy of the “RDP of the soul” rather than a repetition of its concrete goals. A detailed review of the precise targets and achievements of the RDP shows that in key sectors targets most have yet to be met (Hemson and O’Donovan, 2005).

A new urgency has been given to implementation in the face of growing inequalities. The President has said that in the escape from poverty the message being put out by liberated South Africa is: “at all costs, get rich!” In his concern for the goals of social cohesion and human solidarity he argued that the “revolution of 1994” should not lead to the message that wealth defines the “worthy citizens” of the “liberated South Africa” (Mbeki, 2006b).

The President was speaking to the elite, the top civil servants, and newly rich and very rich; this inspiration is crucial to a renewal of state initiative in the interests of a majority of South Africans who still live in poverty. There is a growing political awareness of the contradiction between the enriched elite and the impoverished members and supporters within the ANC. Mbeki has launched the Mvuselelo programme to revive the ANC branch structures. Evidently he feels delivery is being neglected. Recently, in his political review, he said: “If I were to ask ANC regions and branches the programmes of their municipalities to eradicate the bucket system and ensure access to clean water, I wonder how many would be able to give a clear answer as to what the plans are in this regard.” (Nyati, August 2006). The debate about enrichment is evidently an attempt to refocus the attention of those in power on the priorities of the poor.

The additional funds available for public investment have both revived interest in the RDP as well as contributing to the defence of economic austerity. In a recent publication the Minister of Finance has strongly defended the stringent GEAR policy as contributing “towards a culture of social solidarity and of shared responsibility”. In response to the critics of GEAR, he mentioned that “both the letter and spirit of the relationship between the RDP and GEAR has served South Africa incredibly well”. He feels there are, and have been, no contradictions between GEAR and the RDP.

The question is whether the greater attention to delivery will help meet either the promised targets for a disenchanting populace which largely voted for the ruling party.

Achievement or under-achievement?

Just where does South Africa stand in terms of delivery in houses, water, and other basic needs after a decade of GEAR? There are three difficulties in answering this simple

question; firstly the right data, secondly demographic change and thirdly somewhat different sets of commitments.

Firstly while there are extensive reviews the appropriate statistics are not always to hand. People are interested in the actual houses delivered rather, for instance, the 'input' figures of housing budgets.

Secondly, one of the greatest controversies relates to the growth of households which is increasing at a faster pace than population. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of African households, for instance, increased by 32% from 6,5m to 8,6m over the period, an increase of over 2 million households (Hemson and O'Donovan). This is not a small matter as a rising number of households put extra demand on the level of service delivery not least with housing. The question is whether this trend is continuing or tapering off.

Thirdly commitments are made in different texts: the Reconstruction and Development Program, the State of the Nation, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Other commitments arise from engagement such as the exceptional commitment by Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu to end slums by 2010. These are variously phrased, have different deadlines, and are not always directly comparable. Others are vitally important, such as the MDG target of halving poverty by 2015 but are not reported on annually by the Presidency.

These difficulties apart, where is delivery in terms of targets? A balance sheet of the sectors of service delivery shows a mixture of progress in some sectors and poor delivery in others. In general the data confirms the picture of advance being made in access to basic services during the past decade among the poorest of the poor. Taken by percentages there is evidence of considerable increase in service delivery to the poor; in the case of electricity by 578%. by the poorest and by lesser figures in water (Bhorat et al, 2006: 9).

Electricity is a service provision which has been implemented faster than other services. According to social surveys over the past 8 years 664 000 households were being connected annually, a substantial increase over an earlier period (Hemson and O'Donovan, 2005). This can be contrasted to the official delivery target of 300 000 in sanitation. Where there is accelerated delivery, targets come within grasp.

In a frequently quoted study providing data on the sharp increase in delivery to the poorest, there is evidence that the general access to housing increased by 8% while the growth by the poorest increased by 28% (Bhorat et al, 2006: 6).. Similar statistics are provided for piped water, electricity, and flush toilets. Certainly those accessing housing in urban settlements for the first time and also the rural poor, both who would be included in the poor segments of society have benefited from delivery to a far greater extent than whites in the cities and suburbs.

Such is the good news which needs to be taken into account. Elsewhere unless trends in delivery substantially change the targets in housing, water, sanitation, school facilities and under other headings will not be met.

Apart from being the focus for essential services, housing is possibly the single most important factor in ensuring health and well being. The government states that houses built or under construction over the past 11 years amount to 1.7m, although estimates about those actually completed appear to be lower. The current backlog, however exceeds this figure. In 2001 there were 1,9m living in informal settlements while the Minister said at the Housing Indaba that the backlog in housing is now 2,4m (Sisulu, 2005). More funds have been voted, but the Minister acknowledges that these will be inadequate and a nervous private finance sector should make a real commitment.

The statistics demonstrating high percentage increases of the poor accessing improved delivery, however, have to be carefully assessed.

A more critical eye from below and above is being cast on delivery; the question is whether municipal officials have the focus, capacity and resources. Studies have shown that those municipalities where protests have been most vigorous are also those which have spent more on salaries and less on capital expenditure and maintenance. This is one side of the situation, the other that some competent municipalities are complaining that sufficient capital funding is not being made available to meet targets.

The protests also show an increasing concern about the quality as well as the quantity of delivery; about size of houses as well as their number, about the quality of water as well as piped water being available.

The research also shows that progress in various sectors has been uneven and has slowed down over time rather than speeded up. Although the 'pro-poor' element of delivery is demonstrated it is also true that the phenomenal percentage increases can also be explained by the extraordinarily low numbers of the poorest of black people accessed these services in the early 1990s; percentages measure rises above very low numbers. Surprisingly for the high level of publicity given to water and sanitation, there is considerable evidence of a slowing in delivery.

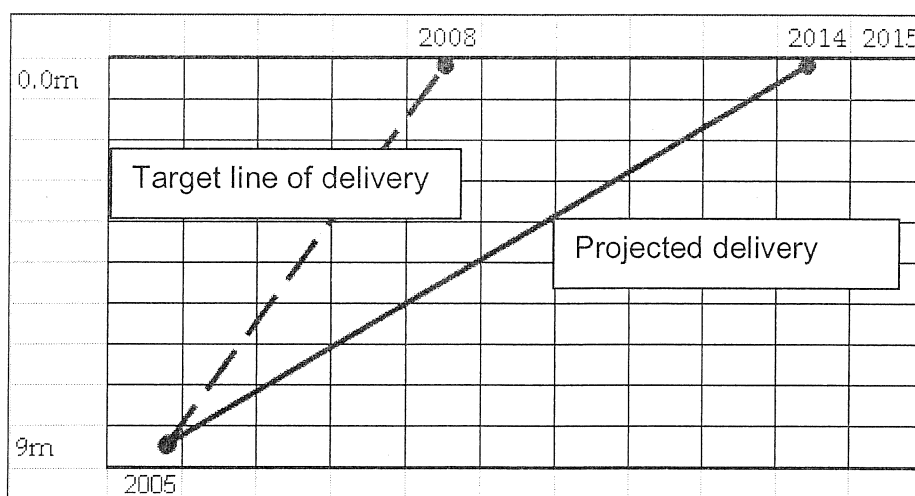
The analysis is confirmed by two features. Firstly the evidence is that it is also true that "household services grew at a much faster rate between 1993 to 1999 and then slowed down in the period 1999 to 2004 (Bhorat et al, 2006: 11). The much criticized GEAR policy came on stream effectively in the second period, a feature which will be commented on further below. Secondly the figures show that the backlogs in services are also disproportionately represented by these poorest. Among the poorest, for instance, more than 70 per cent lacked access to a flush toilet and 60 per cent of households did not have access to piped water in 2004 (Bhorat et al, 2006: 14). The most pro-poor service delivery (unexpectedly because it is probably the most costly to poor people as prepaid meters are extensively used) is in electricity which is fairly evenly spread among the poor and the poorest.

The lags in delivery evidenced by slower delivery over time and the continuing backlogs help confirm that the phenomenal percentage increases in delivery have to be measured against actual numbers. Although the percentage of people in the backlogs has declined over time, in a number of sectors the number has increased. The lags in delivery particularly focus on the problems in effectively upgrading the lives of the poorest and challenge the assertion that targets in delivery will be met.

While there continues to be general reports of social progress based on uncertain statistics there is also increasing disclosure, partial and slow, but disclosure nonetheless of difficulties in delivery which point to substantial problems. The Minister of Housing, for instance, speaks of rising delivery but at the same time acknowledges that shack housing is increasing and increasing at a faster pace than before.

Probably more importantly official data on delivery in the water sector points to the fact that both the modest goals of the RDP and the bolder targets of the State of the Nation address are not to be met. At the Water Summit held in May this year for the first time projections were made of the targeted line of delivery to meet the promise of water for all by 2008 and a projected line of delivery which shows that the target of delivery to 9 million people is only likely to be met in 2013-14.

‘Water for all by 2008’

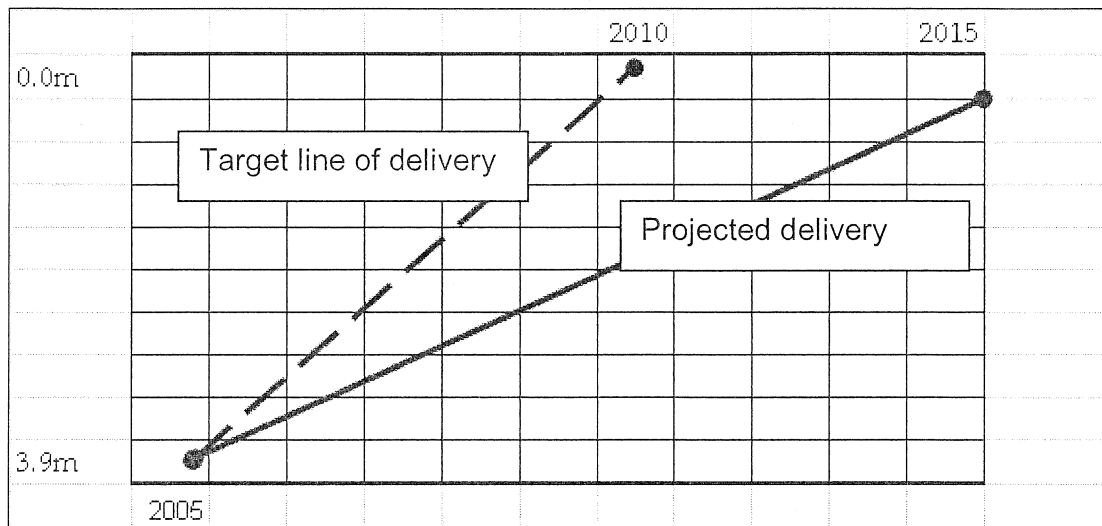


Source: DWAf, National Water Summit, 2006, p71.

The divergence between the two lines represents the gap between promise and delivery and although it appears not to be enormous, there are doubts whether delivery at the projected date of 2013-14 will be made if there not considerably greater resources put into delivery and greater accountability achieved in local government. The DWAf document from which the graph is drawn speaks of entire turnaround to reach the 2008 target: a 250% increase in funding and 300% increase in the rate of implementation.

The graph on sanitation shows that there are 3.9 million households which still lack adequate sanitation. The target is very unlikely to be met; although the target is for delivery to all by 2010, the projection on the existing basis of delivery is for this target to be reached by 2015-16.

‘Sanitation for all by 2010’



Source: DWAF, National Water Summit, 2006, p71.

In the high profile water services sector there is a commitment to provide piped water for all by 2008 and improved sanitation for all by 2010. The water target is only three years away; and needs another 2.6m households to be connected or upgraded to reach basic standards. In sanitation the numbers are 4.3m households in five years.

The acknowledgement that all is not well in water services and other areas of service delivery also comes from other sources. In the State of the Cities report, (SACN, 2004, p79) it is pointed out that the total access to some levels of service has declined. Taking direct house connections the actual number of households at this level decline in all but two of the nine cities surveyed; while 66% of all households in the nine cities had water connected to their dwellings, in 2001 this had been reduced to 50%. Delivery has increased but numbers without basic services have also increased. In some areas “the numbers of households without services has increased at a rate equivalent to, or even faster rate than, the increases in households served” (SACN, 2004, 78-79). In short, delivery is taking place and even speeding up but is not fast enough to meet demand.

Recent surveys¹ indicate that in the cities, which is where the greatest expertise and resources can be found, there has been a general increase, rather than a decline, in

¹ Detailed analysis of population trends and service delivery recently conducted by the HSRC on leading cities in South Africa.

backlogs. This is a surprising conclusion as it indicates that the municipalities which are best resourced and managed are not reaching the targets shortly before the national targets are to be met.

An important example confirms the trend. The city manager of eThekweni Municipality, regarded as the best managed city in Africa, recently stated that the challenge is to reduce backlogs to 'negligible levels' in the next few years (Sutcliffe, 2006,p7) but admitted that this was not happening. In the period 2003-05 some 27 000 'service points' (groups of households sharing services) in the backlog for services were removed but another 31 000 were added; the backlog was not being reduced.

This is a surprising development in a city usually described with superlatives but apparently this is not an isolated phenomenon as the general analysis of cities shows. If the leading city is finding backlogs growing, what can be the experience among the less well administered?

Slipping delivery: the impact on schools and children

There is a tendency for monitoring of targets to be less rigorous and precise over time; in a sense targets become 'lost' rather than 'missed'. Although the RDP is now again celebrated, the goal of the RDP, for instance "decent, well-located and affordable shelter for all by the year 2003" (ANC, 1994: Housing and services) are not being repeated. Similarly, and unfortunately, targets which formed part of the State of the Nation are sliding away in the same way.

The water sector, somewhat similarly to housing, has set a range of targets for delivery which focus on the all-round improvement in water services Strategic Framework for Water Services (DWAF, 2003). In addition to the grand targets for delivery there are a multiple set of concrete and immediate goals for the sector. The following of these are dated:

- All schools have adequate and safe water supply and sanitation services by 2005
- Hygiene education and wise use of water taught in all schools by 2005
- All clinics have adequate and safe water supply and sanitation services by 2007

Points will be made in relation to both the first and the second group. South Africa has adopted, in general, child focused policies in health, education, and welfare; the difficulty is in ensuring that these are met. In the school health area, for instance, the theme is 'health-promoting schools'. The difficulty is, firstly, to ensure that schools have sufficient and operating services to provide an environment which will not endanger children's health. A school which does not, for instance, have adequate water and sanitation can be argued not to be health-promoting and indeed to be putting children's health at risk.

The goals outlined above certainly had this in mind. A more immediate target is that every school should have water and sanitation by March 2006. Unfortunately the goals

have not been met; in March 2006, 2 688 schools were identified as having no water facilities and 2 238 schools had no sanitation.² There are in addition thousands of schools which lack 'adequate' and 'safe' water and sanitation as the number of toilets and water facilities are either in a state of disrepair or too limited. Similar assessments have been made of adequate provision of water to clinics, but unfortunately the government website no longer carries information on progress in this area.³

The legacy of GEAR

In the new period of economic policy marked by the launch of ASGISA there is a tendency for government ministers to take a stance increasingly defensive of conservative economic policies which followed GEAR and indeed stating that these provided the surplus for increased spending in the current period.

In an article in the *ANC Today* Minister Manuel wrote: "From 1996 to 2000, spending on public services fell by 4.5 per cent in real terms. Since 2000, public spending has increased by over 60 percent in real terms. The fiscal consolidation of the late 1990s has provided the resources to accelerate the implementation of the RDP at a pace even the authors could not have forecast" (Manuel, 2006).

There is evidence from research and from government statements in an earlier period that the cuts in public expenditure slowed down delivery and have left a legacy which has been difficult to turn around.

Firstly from the research into the question it appears that there has been a slowing down of delivery in the period 1999-2004 which has allowed backlogs to accumulate. In a number of government and municipal reports it appears that backlogs have been rising or, at least, not declining as anticipated.

Secondly conservative policies, tended to disrupt the momentum of delivery. A previous Minister of Water Affairs made these following points in 1998:

Up to now, we have been able to take the allocations from previous years and roll them forward. The transition from RDP to MTEF (Medium Term Expenditure Framework) has now forced government to look at its commitments... I need to state that, at this moment, there is not enough money on the budget to start the new projects needed to ensure the continuity of the programme and, more

² Minister of Social Development Zola Skweyiya: Social Sector Cluster media briefing, 7 July 2006. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06071109151002.htm>

³ In the reports on from the Social Cluster there is no longer mention of the provision of water to clinics; the evidence is that conditions are improving but the target is not being met. See <http://www.info.gov.za/aboutgovt/poa/report/social.htm>

important, to ensure that we achieve the objective of having all South Africans with adequate access to basic water supply by the year 2004 (Asmal, 1998).

In short cutbacks in public expenditure both reduced resources available and made the implementation of existing projects more difficult.

The departmental budget, increased slightly and then more substantially in the period up to 1996, in accordance with the RDP-related objective of raising the DWAF share from 1,28 per cent to 2,24 per cent of the national budget (Schmitz, 1999).

Since the larger water projects inevitably took longer than a financial year to complete but allocations could not be 'rolled over', funding was often not available to keep up the impetus. Reports from the provinces at the time spoke of projects having to be abandoned before being begun or stopped in midstream. Certainly the government's goal, contained in the RDP, of safe water for all in the 'medium term' (2004) was not met.

The 'stop/start' process of implementation, starting at the beginning of every financial year and stopping at the end in uncertainty, has characterized delivery in a number of sectors. This has tended to disrupt the accumulation of capacity over time, particularly in the weaker municipalities which find it difficult to manage uncertainty.

Thirdly, although it is difficult to get a precise estimation of public investment such as in water delivery, it appears there has not been a substantial increase over time. Expenditure in water services does not appear to have risen in real terms over the past 10 years. As another Minister has said, each department or sector providing services to the poor still faces obstacles in raising expenditure. The new period of public finances which promises increased public expenditure seems to have uncertain results.

In her speech to the Housing Indaba, Minister Sisulu spelt out the "stark reality" that housing competes with other equally pressing demands for funding. Service delivery is at a turning point; to take another example from her speech; if current rates of funding and urbanization continue the backlog will be the same in ten years time (Sisulu, 2005).

The problem does come back to the budgetary allocations and improved delivery systems; is National Treasury prepared to substantially increase the funding of service delivery and municipalities become more responsive to rising demands?

Finally it does not appear that national planning budgeting is directly linked to the statements made about targets in service delivery. If targets were tied to targets on a year-to-year basis, it would be clear from the budgetary reviews what funding was available for annual delivery leading, step by step, to the final goal. At present it is not possible to work out what annual targets exist.

Indeed internal reviews such as the documents provided at the National Water Summit note that dramatic increases of expenditure (in the case of water from R1.8 billion a year to at least R4 billion a year) are needed to reach targets. Nothing like this increase in

expenditure is being discussed. Unfortunately the budgeting process appears to be piecemeal and opaque, and it is not possible to see a curve leading to comprehensive delivery.

Where do the problems lie? Government policy sets the overall framework for delivery and meeting and rising demand of the people and the targets for delivery requires greater attention to be paid to budget allocations and oversight.

'New realism' or a turning point?

In a recent review of targets in the water sector, the Water Affairs and Forestry Portfolio Committee spelt out its anxiety that targets would be met. The information provided by the Department tended to confirm the arguments made above: that budgets were inadequate and that a number of targets had not been met. The targets were described as 'very ambitious and had sometimes been criticized as too ambitious' but the purpose of targets was to 'focus and prioritise'. "Without targets, people would not take water and sanitation seriously" (PMG, 2006). The implications of the statements and of the statistics provided is that the targets will not be met; there was discussion of setting 'new targets'.

The meeting did however, make a reasonably critical examination of the reports and individuals concluded that in a number of the municipalities and provinces targets would not be met. The Department was, however, not forthcoming about which ones were in line to meet targets and which not. As was demonstrated in reports from the Ethekewini Municipality, even the best administered of the cities (and particularly those with rural areas incorporated within new boundaries) are failing to progress towards ending backlogs and meeting the national deadlines. If this is the experience in the best administered municipalities, what can be expected from those which are said to lack commitment and capacity?

Unfortunately DWAF did not provide the Portfolio Committee with the same material which was circulated at the National Water Summit. From their website it is clear that that the skepticism of members of the Portfolio Committee about entire provinces missing the deadline appear justified.

The backlogs (DWAF statistics)

Province	Backlog	Backlog as % of population
KwaZulu-Natal	2,501,360	24
Eastern Cape	1,661,822	25
Limpopo	1,593,963	28

Source: August 2006 figures, DWAF website, Demographics: Detailed National - Population perspective; accessed 25 August 2006

In the table above KwaZulu-Natal is identified as the province with the largest backlog with 2,5m people, followed by the Eastern Cape (1.7m) and Limpopo (1,6m). This is, in a sense, the hardcore of the backlog reflected in the graphs above and none of these provinces can be expected to reach the target of water for all by 2008.

There are two perspectives raised by the increasing attention being given to the detail of delivery. The first is that the systems of accountability are just beginning to start to work – and face difficulties in making detailed assessment from the Department which is, in a sense, an interested party. There may be a turning point in the sense that more facts will be demanded and a more thorough examination made promise and achievements. The second is that urging ‘new targets’ before thoroughly examining the reasons why targets were not met indicates an opposite tendency; towards blurring responsibility for the delivery. This approach tends also to be accompanied by ‘new realism’, that is an argument that the original targets to overcome the apartheid legacy were too ambitious.

The strongest argument for improved service delivery is to roll back the deprivation of apartheid, provide the basic services necessary for a decent life, and to reduce poverty. There are sectors in which fairly comprehensive services have been provided, such as in the case of child grants which have been extended widely throughout the country and into deep rural areas. Access to modern services in water, sanitation and electricity has substantially benefited the poorest who have seen, for the first time, some of the advances of the new democratic order, the argument here is that this is not complete and that officially prepared data is, unfortunately, generally not providing clarity about the tasks ahead.

Managing delivery (as the outlined in Integrated Development Planning) should be a process of identifying needs, drawing up strategies to meet goals, plans and budgets, integration and finally draft plans for discussion. The link between setting targets, planning projects and committing finance appears to be weak as the funding has often been criticized from outside government as quite inadequate to the task. In a number of official reports the inadequacies have been confirmed. Unfortunately political oversight has not yet developed to the point where the facts are emerging clearly and diagnosed through parliamentary committees. At the local level public systems of accountability are not as yet ensuring full local reporting and review.

Insufficient political oversight has meant there has not been an adequate review of where the difficulties were in the past; a lack of sufficient funding, commitment within those directing administrative systems, adequate local capacity, or a lack of public participation. All these issues have been raised in some way or other from without and within official structures, and need to be answered.

Increasingly, however, one point is appears certain. The limits to public expenditure in the past have focused on working within the broad medium term expenditure framework and not on socially necessary expenditure in the basic service delivery. These limits and the financing problems as evidenced by the 'stop-start' nature of budgeting within financial years rather than in completed projects, point to just some of the answers to the question of unrealized targets.

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